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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The motto, which I have chosen for this sheet, will supply the place of a title to the article, upon which I am now entering, and which, I foresee, will be the only one, that I shall find room for in the present number. ——The event, just happened in Portugal, has completed Napoleon's round of coast, and our set of enemies. I always thought what the *expatriation* project would come to; and I am very far from pitying any of those who have been deceived by it; for, none but sheer fools ever gave credit to it, and none but sheer knaves ever pretended to give credit to it. The Prince Regent has out-witted the wiseacres. He has given proof that *all* the cunning is not possessed by either the English or the Hanoverians. He has played a clever trick; and, I dare say, he will obtain a comfortable settlement for it, which is, probably, all that he desires. The cares of government will be taken off his hands; he will have as much to eat and drink as he had before; he will have as good a bed to sleep upon; as good, or at least, very good, horses to draw him about; he will, in short, have all the *enjoyments* that he had before, without any of their concomitant vexations. Really a very happy change; a change to which many other persons, would, in all probability, have very little objection, except, perhaps, as it might deprive them of the privilege of being dishonest, profligate, insolent, and tyrannical with impunity. The Prince Regent has seen what befell *other* sovereigns, who fled from their dominions; and, from their example, he wisely concluded, that it was impossible for him to be worse off at home than abroad. He did not determine, indeed, precisely as *we* could have wished; but, we are always falling into the error, that what is for *our interest* ought to be adopted by every power in the world.—— It is, however, useless to waste our time in reflections of this sort. The thing is done; our ancient ally, her most faithful Majesty, is become our enemy; and all the coast of Europe, from Petersburgh to Constantinople, both inclusive, contains not one port friendly to English commerce.——It is to me evident enough, that, in spite of all Napoleon's decrees, we shall still find an outlet for more of our manufactures than I think it good to export; but, there can be no doubt, that the affairs of commerce will experience great annoyance; that, in fact, there will be a great diminution in those gains, to which commercial men, generally speaking, have long been accustomed; and that, as a natural consequence, the profession of the merchant and manufacturer will become of less importance than, for many years heretofore, it has been. We may, indeed, now say, that commerce will "perish;" so that, what was regarded as a most impious wish in Mr. Windham is about to be realized; and, the good of it is, that we find those who abused him most (and that, too, for a wish that he did *not* utter) are now beginning to tell us, that we may see the wish accomplished without much dread. ——The public will remember how often I have been reproached for speaking irreverently of Sir Baalam; and what curses the sons of Baalam bestowed upon me, when I told him that "the *soldier* was abroad," and would, before he returned home and laid up his sword, have his share of the good things of the world. Baalam was in a rage at the prediction; but, he will see it verified; and, what is more, he will find nobody to pity him. Pitt is gone, commerce, as the foundation of a system of politics, will soon follow him, and, let us hope that Englishmen will once more see their country somethinglike what it formerly was.—I know, that there are many persons, very worthy persons too, who are somewhat shocked at this satisfaction, which I express at the prospect of a diminished commerce, which satisfaction they attribute to some spite that I entertain against commercial men But, so far from entertaining any such spite, I owe great goodwill to *all* the commercial men that I am personally acquainted with; and, though I am convinced, that commerce has been the great cause of our national decline, I attribute no blame to those engaged in commerce, the carrying on of which is, as to the persons concerned in it, just as laudable as the sowing of corn or the planting of trees. It is the *thing* that I dislike, and, if it has gained an undue pre eminence,

the fault has been solely with the government. There is one light, indeed, in which I have viewed commercial men with an evil eye; and that is, as the constant supporters and applauders of Pitt, whom I regard as the author of all the evils that we suffer and that we dread, and whose supporters, therefore, it is impossible for me to like.——My satisfaction at the prospect of a great diminution in our commerce arises from a conviction, long entertained, that such a diminution would be a great benefit to the country. This appears to be the time to obtain a patient hearing upon this important subject; and, therefore, I shall resume my extracts from MR. SPENCE's pamphlet, accompanied by such remarks as appear to me likely to be of use in producing a general conviction of the soundness of our doctrine. Before I proceed any further, however, I must beseech the reader to bestow a *patient* perusal upon these interesting extracts, and not hurry them over in a superficial way, which can be attended with no benefit whatever. This is a subject that requires *thinking*. Mr. Spence's pamphlet is the result of long and profound thinking, and it is not to be read like one of Pitt's speeches or Lord Wellesley's letters, that is to say, with a continual anxiety to come at the end.——

"In this country, where commerce has "been carried to a greater extent than in "any other country of the same size, it is "the opinion of almost all its inhabitants, "that its wealth, its greatness, and its prosperity, have been chiefly derived from its "commerce; and, that these advantages "can be continued, and increased, only by "its continuance and extension. That "these opinions, as far as they respect this "country, are founded in truth, I cannot "bring myself to believe, and I proceed "to state the grounds of my conviction of "their fallacy. As all commerce naturally "divides itself into commerce of import "and export, I shall in the first place, endeavour to prove, that no riches, no increase of national wealth, can in any "case be derived from commerce of import; and, in the next place, that although national wealth may, in some "cases, be derived from commerce of "export, yet, that Britain, in consequence of particular circumstances, "has not derived, nor does derive, from "this branch of commerce, any portion "of her national wealth; and, consequently, that her riches, her prosperity, and "her power are intrinsic, derived from her "own resources, independent of commerce, and might, and will, exist, "even though her trade should be annihilated. These positions, untenable as "at first glance they may seem, I do not "fear being able to establish to the satisfaction of those, who will dismiss from their "mind the deep-rooted prejudices with "which, on this subject, they are warped; "and who, no longer contented with examining the mere surface of things, shall "determine to penetrate through every "stratum of the mine which conceals the "grand truths of political economy.—— "Every one must allow, that for whatever "a nation purchases in a foreign market, it "gives an adequate value, either in money "or in other goods; so far, then, certainly, "it gains no profit nor addition to its wealth. "It has changed one sort of wealth for "another, but it has not increased the "amount it was before possessed of. "Thus, when the East India Company has exchanged a quantity of bullion with the Chinese for tea, no one "will say, that this mere exchange is any "increase of national wealth. We have "gained a quantity of tea, but we have "parted with an equal value of gold and "silver; and if this tea were sold at home "for exactly the same sum as had been given "for it, it would be allowed, on all hands, "that no wealth had accrued to the nation "from this transfer. But, because goods, "bought at a foreign market, and sold at "home, have their value considerably augmented by the charge of transporting "them, the duty paid to government, the "profit of the merchant, importer, &c., "it is contended, by the disciples of the "mercantile system, that this increased value is so much profit to the nation; so "much addition to the amount of national "wealth. Thus, a quantity of tea, say "they, which has cost in China 1000l. will, "by the charges and profits which have occurred upon it, previous to its exposure "for sale in England, have its value augmented to 1500l. and will be sold for "that sum at home. Since, then, the "tea cost but 1000l., and it has been "sold for 1500l., is not this 500l. an addition to national wealth? To this question, I answer, no; certainly not. There "is no doubt, but the persons concerned in "this transaction have gained a profit, and "have added to their individual wealth. "The ship-owner has added to his wealth, "by the freight of the tea; the under-writer by his premiums of insurance upon "it; the government has increased the "revenue by the duties of customs and excise; and the East India Company has

" augmented its dividend by the profit gain-
" ed upon this article. But, the question
" is, from whence have these profits of the
" ship-owner, the underwriter, the govern-
" ment, and the East-India Company been
" derived? Have they not been drawn
" from the consumers of this tea; and is it
" not as clear as noonday, that whatever the
" former have gained, the latter have lost:
" that the latter are exactly poorer in pro-
" portion as the former are richer; and,
" in short, that a transfer, not a creation,
" of wealth has taken place. If this tea
" had been sold for 1000l., the bare sum
" which it cost, would the nation have been
" poorer, than if it were sold for 1500l.?
" Certainly not. In this case, the consu-
" mers of the tea would have kept in their
" pockets the 500l., which, on the other
" supposition, they transferred to the pock-
" ets of the ship owner, the insurer, &c.;
" but the national wealth would be neither
" increased nor diminished.——The same
" reasoning is applicable to all commerce of
" import. In every case, the value of an
" article is what it has cost in the foreign
" market, and whatever it is sold for, more
" than this, is a transfer of wealth from the
" consumers of the article to those who
" gain a profit by it, but in no instance is
" there any addition to national wealth crea-
" ted by this branch of commerce. A
" gamester, who is not worth sixpence to-
" night, may, by to-morrow, be possessed
" of 30,000l. which he has won from the
" dupes of his knavery; but who would
" not laugh at him, that should imagine
" this transfer of individual fortune an ac-
" cession of national wealth? Yet this
" opinion might, with every whit as much
" justice, be maintained, as that the ho-
" nourable profit of those concerned in im-
" porting articles of merchandize is a crea-
" tion of national riches.——The arguments
" made use of to shew, that no national
" wealth is derived from commerce of im-
" port, will serve also to shew the absurdity
" of their notions who talk of the impor-
" tance of such and such branches of com-
" merce, because of the great duties which
" are levied on them at the custom-house or
" excise office. Such reasoners will insist
" upon the vast value of our East India
" trade, because of the three or four mil-
" lions which the public revenue derives
" from the duties imposed on the articles
" imported from thence. They do not con-
" sider, that all such duties are finally paid
" by the consumers of the arttcles on which
" they are laid, and that these consumers
" are equally able to pay the sums they ad-
" vance, whether or not they consume
" the articles on which they are levied.
" — Thus, an individual who annual-
" ly consumes 10l. worth of tea, con-
" tributes to the revenue 4l.;—but, surely,
" it is not essential to his capacity of contri-
" buting this sum, that he should consume
" a certain quantity of tea yearly. Since
" he possesses funds adequate to the pay-
" ment of 10l. for tea, if no duty were
" charged on this tea, and he could pur-
" chase it for 6l., he would still be able to
" advance the additional 4l. as a direct tax.
" Indeed, if he were entirely to cease con-
" suming tea, (though I do not advise that
" he should do so), and were to substitute in
" its place the equally nourishing, and far
" more wholesome beverage water, which he
" might have without cost, he would have
" the power of much more considerably
" contributing to the public revenue; for
" in that case, he might afford to pay, as a
" direct tax, the whole 10l. which he had
" been accustomed to spend in this luxury,
" and of which, before, 4l. only went to
" the Exchequer, the remainder being di-
" vided between the Chinese, the ship-
" owner, the East India Company, &c. On
" the same mode of reasoning, it would be
" preposterous to maintain, that he who
" can afford to drink a barrel of ale, on
" which the duty is 10s. could not afford to
" advance this 10s. *without* drinking the ale.
" The fact is, that it is a convenient way of
" raising a revenue, to tax consumable arti-
" cles at the custom house, or the excise
" office; but, if the consumers of the arti-
" cles can afford to consume them loaded
" with taxes, they certainly can afford to
" advance these taxes, even though they did
" not consume the articles upon which they
" are levied; and hence there is no *neces-*
" *sity* whatever, that the articles in ques-
" tion should be imported for the mere pur-
" pose of aiding the revenue of the coun-
" try."——This is so clear, that no remark of mine would be necessary; but, justice to myself urges me to show, that this reasoning is not new, and that it was made use of by me long ago. I do not pretend to call Mr. Spence a plagiarist; but, I must show, that, contrary to his supposition, this doctrine has been, amongst many persons, pretty familiar for some time past; and, if he has read the Political Register, I have, I think, some little reason to complain of his want of due acknowledgement, as will, I am convinced, appear from a comparison of the extract just given with the following extract, taken from the Political Register of March 1st, 1806, Vol. IX. page 308. There had been a de-

bate, in the House of Commons, upon India affairs, into which had been introduced the circumstance of the Company's having failed in their engagement to pay half a million annually to the nation as the price of their monopoly, which monopoly costs the nation so much in troops, and in fleets. Whereupon Sir Theophilus Metcalfe (an East India Director, I believe), said, that "his chief motive in rising was, to shew, "that though the Company had not paid "the annual half million to the public, the "public had derived *other advantages* from "the Company more than equal to it. "The duties," said he, "upon tea, at "the time that the charter was granted, "amounted to no more than 12½ per cen-"tum; but, they have since been aug-"mented to 95 per centum. The conclu-"sion is, that, if the duties had remained at "12½ per centum, the sum paid into the "Exchequer, supposing the half million to "have been regularly paid, would have "been 5 millions; whereas, in the increased "duty upon tea imported by the East India "Company, the sum *actually paid into the* "*Exchequer is* 17 *millions*!"——Not a soul, in the Honourable House said a word in answer to this. It seemed to be acquiesced in, with a sort of sapient silence; at which I was so indignant, that I could not refrain from making the following remarks upon it, in my next Number.——"Who "is this gentleman? What is he? A logi-"cian, perchance; but certainly no politi-"cian. In the first place, I would ask Sir "T. Metcalf, in what part of the act of "charter he will find the government "restricted as to the amount of duties to be "laid upon tea; but, does he really think, "that any human creature, not to say any "member of parliament, is so shallow, so "stupid, so totally devoid of all the powers "of perception as well as of deduction, as to "believe, though but for a single moment, "that this additional duty upon tea has "come into the Exchequer *from the pockets* "*of the East India Company?* Does he "think, that it will ever be believed, that "the East India Company have *themselves* "*consumed all the tea* that has been thus "loaded with additional duties? And, if he "does not, does he not know, that all tax-"es, and all taxes on consumable commodi-"ties especially and obviously, fall solely "upon the consumer? If he could, indeed, "prove, that the additional duties had *di-*"*minished* the consumption of tea, then "he might urge it as an injury to the af-"fairs of the Company; but never can he "make any thing with human reason in its "brains regard the amount of additional du-"ties upon goods as money given to the "nation by the original owner of those "goods; for, if I, for instance, who pay "into the Exchequer, four or five thousand "pounds a year for the stamps upon my Re-"gister, were to pretend that I gave the "nation so much annually, would not my "readers, who know that *they pay me* the "amount of those stamps, look upon me as "the most impudent, or the most foolish, "of men? No, Sir T. Metcalf; no, it is "not the East India Company; it is *the* "*people*; the people of England and Scot-"land and Ireland; it is that burdened peo-"ple, to whom the East India Company "owe about 7 millions of money, (to say "nothing about the addition to the nominal "sum caused by depreciation), and to whom "they are coming for more, instead of pay-"ing what they owe; it is that same de-"luded people, who, about twenty years "ago, were, by the craft of the commercial "hypocrites and their abettors, induced to "set up such a senseless bawling about "" chartered rights," protected by "a "heaven-born minister;" it is this people "that have, as they richly deserved, been "compelled to pay the 17 millions in addi-"tional duty upon tea."——This extract does, indeed, apply to that part only of the extract from Mr. Spence, which treats of the effect of duties levied upon tea; but, as to the other part, how often have I insisted, and *proved*, that the profits of the East India Company made no *addition* to the *national* wealth? How often have I shown, that the addition of wealth, arising from "our Empire in the East," was an addition to the wealth of the Company and their servants, *at the expence of the people of these kingdoms?* How often have I shown, that the "*fortunes brought from India*," which some of the Nabobs represented to be an addition to the wealth and prosperity of the nation, were the result of an operation, half parliamentary and half commercial, which conveyed the amount of those fortunes from the land and labour of England into the pockets of East India adventurers, who came home, and with the very money which they had drawn from our land and our labour, obtained the estates of those who had paid away the value of them in taxes, and became the lords of the labourers, who had, substantially, been rendered slaves by the same operation? How often have I lamented, that the people of this kingdom, especially the land-owners, would not be convinced of these truths; and how provoked was I, in 1802, to hear them chuckle, be-

tween a laugh and a cry, when the shallow-headed Pitt asserted, that the overthrow of Tippoo Sultaun, and the consequent establishment of our power and extended commerce in the East Indies, had added more to our resources and our safety than all the conquests of France, than all her additional millions of subjects and acres of land, had added to her resources and her safety? In short, when have I missed an opportunity of promulgating opinions like these? I must, therefore, confess, that it is with some little displeasure, that I now see Mr. Spence giving them, and to the same public too, as something *perfectly new*, or, at least, never before conveyed to the British public in print. Mr. Spence, it is *possible*, has never read, or heard of, any of my remarks upon the wild wars of Pitt and Dundas for the preservation of India; upon colonial expeditions in general, and particularly upon the capture, re-capture, and unsuccessful attack upon, Buenos Ayres; upon the childish notion, that we should be all ruined, if the paper-money were annihilated; upon, in short, first or last, every topic that he has touched upon relative to the importance of commerce. It is barely possible, that Mr. Spence has never read, or heard of any of these remarks; and, for two reasons, I hope he has not: first, because he is not, in that case, chargeable with plagiarism; and, second, because the doctrine proceeding from two minds, between which there had been no communication, is, of itself, no bad argument in support of its soundness. Mr. Spence may, by bare possibility, never have read, or heard of, any of the numerous articles, in which, for the sake of illustration, I have laid money out of the question, and have supposed a state of society, wherein commodities of real value were bartered; any of the many, many essays, in which I have requested the reader to put money out of his mind, when he was talking, or thinking, upon the subject of national riches. It is possible, that Mr. Spence may never have seen, or heard of, this; but, I frankly confess, that I do not think it likely. It is not the *author* that breaks out in me here; but the man of fair-dealing, who never, in all his life, wittingly availed himself of the ideas of another, whether friend or foe, without explicitly acknowledging it.——But, let us now proceed to the hearing of MR. SPENCE upon the subject of *export* commerce. And, I must once more beg the reader, not only to go on slowly and attentively; but also to advance with a firm resolution to dismiss from his mind the prejudices there existing with regard to the importance of foreign trade. For, unless he can do this; unless he can say to himself, "*I will listen to nothing but reason*," he would do well to proceed no further. It has been very common for me to be answered, in questions relating to matters of political economy, with a, "so, *you would persuade us*, that such and such is the case." My reply has been; yes, I would, indeed, fain persuade you so; and I am sorry to perceive, that you are pre-determined not to be so persuaded. If the reader be of the temper of these answerers, he would do well to lay down the Register; for, it is impossible for him to read to any profit. But, if, as I hope is the case with a vast majority of my readers, his mind be open to conviction, I am well persuaded, that it is now about to receive conviction of the truth of this important position: that this kingdom derives no addition of wealth from export commerce.——"We should "laugh at, or pity as insane, the proprietor "of a landed estate of £10,000 a year, on "which there was a stone quarry, produ-"cing him annually £500 profit, who "should continually be dwelling on the "amazing importance of this quarry, and "be miserable when he sold a few cart "loads of stones less than usual; and, at the "same time, should pay no regard to the "infinitely greater revenue arising from his "land, and should consider it as by far the "least important part of his riches. With "equal justice might the economist laugh "at our folly, or pity our insanity. "These "people, these Britons," he might say, "" have a territory the most productive, in "proportion to its size, of any in Europe. "As their island contains twelve millions "of inhabitants, and each person on the "average annually consumes food to the "amount of at least £10 they must derive "from their soil a gross yearly revenue of "120 *millions*. Their surplus produce, too, "is greater than that of any nation in the "world; for, in the raising of food for "twelve millions of people, there are not "occupied more than *two* millions, and, "consequently, the remaining ten millions "may be employed in fabricating manufac-"tures of use, or of luxury; in defending "the state; in communicating religious, "moral, or scientific, instruction; in ad-"ministering justice, and in contributing "most essentially, in a thousand other "ways, to the happiness and prosperity of "the community. And yet, strange infatua-"tion! these islanders, notwithstanding "their riches and their greatness are so in-"contestably derived from intrinsic causes, "not to be affected by any thing external,

" notwithstanding they draw a gross revenue, an absolute creation of wealth annually, to the amount of £120,000,000 from their soil: regard this true source of their wealth with indifference; with unaccountable delusion fancy all their riches have been derived from commerce; from a source, the national profits of which cannot be more than a twelfth part of their whole revenue, and are miserable at the idea of having a few ports shut against their trade! And still more strange is the consideration, that, not only their merchants, whose self-interest might blind them on this point; not only their ignorant vulgar have raised this cry of their dependence on commerce: even their land owners, their statesmen, whom, of all men, it behoved to have had right notions on such an important subject, have re-echoed the senseless delusion. Well might ARTHUR YOUNG indignantly exclaim, on reading a speech of their favourite minister (Pitt), on the state of the nation, in which agriculture was scarcely deemed worthy of notice, as a source of national wealth; "This the speech of *a* " " *great* minister at the close of the eighteenth century!—No: it is a tissue of " " the common places of a counting-house, " " spun for a spouting-club, by the clerk " " of a banker:—*labour of the artisan*— " " *industry of manufacturers*—*facility of* " " *credit*—*execution of orders*—*pre-eminence in foreign markets*—*capital*— " " *compound interest*—these are the great " " illustrations of national felicity! This " " the reach of mind and depth of research, to mark the talents framed to " " govern kingdoms! These big words, to " " paint little views,—and splendid periods, that clothe narrow ideas! These " " sweepings of Colbert's shop—These " " gleanings from the poverty of Necker!"

" * * * * * * * * * *——If we examine a list of the amount of our imports, we shall find, that more than half the value of all that we import, a much greater amount than any thing we can possibly gain by our commerce of export, is made up of wealth of the most fugitive and evanescent kind, of articles no way necessary for even comfortable existence, and which are wholly consumed before the end of the year, in which they are imported, leaving not a vestige of their having ever existed. Thus, we import annually tea to the amount of four or five millions sterling; sugar and coffee for our own consumption to a larger amount; and we may fairly estimate the value of the wine, rum, brandy, geneva, and tobacco, which we consume, as equal to eight or ten millions more. Twenty millions, then, and upwards, do we pay for these articles, of which there is not one, that we could not do very well without; of which there is not one, (if we except sugar,) that we should not be much better without, and the whole of which are speedily consumed, leaving " not a wreck behind."——This being the case, with what propriety can we be said to derive any accession of wealth from our commerce? We do, it is allowed, gain annually a few millions by our export trade, and if we receive these profits in the precious metals, or even in durable articles of wealth, we might be said to increase our riches, though still comparatively, but in a slight degree, by commerce; but we spend at least twice the amount of what we gain, in luxuries which deserve the name of wealth but for an instant,—which are here to-day and to-morrow are annihilated. How then can our wealth be augmented by such a trade? how will such a negative source of riches suffice to be referred to, as creating the immense positive wealth, which we enjoy?——We are so much accustomed to the error of considering two things, that can be sold for the same money, as equally valuable to the nation which consumes them, because they are equally valuable to the individual who sells them; that we do not by any means estimate with accuracy, the different value of different kinds of wealth, in a national point of view. Yet a case may be imagined in which this difference would be intelligible to every one.—— Suppose, instead of indulging in the luxuries of tea, wine, and spirits, that it were the fashion for every inhabitant of Britain to inhale, once a year, a quart of the aeriform fluid, called, by chemists, nitrous oxyd;—that this air was to be obtained only from France, and that the price of it was one guinea a quart. Suppose also, that we paid for this £10,000,000 worth of gas, by sending woollen cloth to France to that amount, importing in return, this invisible and elastic wealth, in a proper contrivance of bladders, casks, balloons, &c. Would not an unprejudiced observer laugh at our extravagant folly, if we should make a clamour about the profit which the nation gained by this trade, because it took off our woollen cloth to so large an amount? Would he not justly say,

" " These people are infatuated. Because " the individuals concerned in exporting " this woollen cloth, and in importing this " gas, gain a few hundred thousand pounds " profit, they fancy, that their nation " gains by this trade, not considering, that " they are giving away ten millions of per- " manent wealth, which may last for years, " and might have been hoarded to an im- " mense amount, for—what? for air; for " mere indulgence of a moment, which is " of no earthly benefit to its consumers, and " which in one day is expended, and ren- " dered of no value whatever! They do " not see, that if they were without this " trade, and kept all their woollens, they " would be much richer than by exchang- " ing them for such a fleeting substance; " they do not perceive, that though *their* " *merchants* may draw to themselves a mil- " lion per annum profit from this trade, " *the nation* loses by it ten millions per " annum."—— If the considerations just " adduced serve to show the folly of the " opinion, which should conceive any na- " tional wealth to accrue from such a ridi- " culous traffic, as that alluded to; they " will equally prove the fallacy of the be- " lief, that this nation gains great wealth " by its commerce. For, though the tea, " sugar, wine &c. for which we pay annual- " ly so many millions in more permanent " wealth, are not of quite so volatile a na- " ture, as an equal value of nitrous oxyd " would be; yet they are fully as unneces- " sary for all the purposes of comfortable " existence, and when consumed leave no " more traces of their having ever been. " And, inasmuch as we pay for them, an " amount much greater than the whole of " any profit that we can possibly derive " from trade, it is clear, that it is from " some other source that our wealth is " created.——* * * * * * *—— " If we would know who it is, that really " get rich by British Commerce, we should " inquire into the qualities as to premanen- " cy and necessity of the articles which we " export, and compare them in these res- " pects with the articles we import; and " having made this comparison, we shall " find, that it is Europe, Asia, America, " —all the countries with which she trades, " —not Britain, that is enriched by her com- " merce. Thus, we supply the inhabitants " of America with clothes, with hardware, " with pottery; with a thousand articles of " the most pressing necessity, and of the " greatest durability; and as we thus pre- " vent the need of any great part of their " population being engaged in manufac- " tures, nearly the whole of it can be em- " ployed in the infinitely richer source of " wealth, agriculture. And what do we " receive in return for these benefits? " Why, a vile weed, tobacco, which, doubt- " less, when it has gratified our gustatory " organs in its original form as tobacco, " or has deliciously stimulated our olfactory " nerves, in its pulverized and more refined " form, snuff, has most marvellously added " to our stores of national wealth! The " case is the same with all the other coun- " tries with which we trade. We supply " them with commodities of absolute ne- " cessity to comfortable existence, and we " receive in return from them such pre- " cious articles as tea—which debilitates " us, without affording an atom of nou- " rishment: as wine, rum, brandy, which " do us the favour of shortening the days of " a great proportion of our population. It " is the countries we trade with, and not " we, that get rich by our commerce."—— " * * * * * * * * * * —— " Since, therefore, no nation can export her " commodities, without importing other " commodities in exchange for them; since " these last are consumed by the home con- " sumers; and since, except they consumed " them no considerable export trade could " be carried on, it follows, that it is the " consumers at home, that actually are the " means of creating all the stimulus which " improves and extends agriculture, whe- " ther this stimulus arises from manufactures " sold at home, or exported. That this is " an accurate statement, will be still more " evident, if we consider, that at the very " commencement of our commerce, and at " every period since, the consumers of the " foreign commodities imported, inasmuch " as these commodities have never been " the necessaries of life; have never been " food or raiment; *might* have consumed " to the same amount of home manufac- " tures, and thus have directly supported the " manufacturers employed in fabricating " the articles destined for export. Just now, " for instance, if the consumers of the arti- " cles, which we import and sell at home, " to the amount of fifty millions, were to " resolve no longer to consume them, is it " not self-evident, that if they chose, they " might take the place of our foreign cus- " tomers, and purchase, with the fifty " millions thus saved, the goods to the same " amount which we now export?"—— Mr. Spence, in conclusion, states several advantages that would arise from our entertaining just notions upon this subject, amongst which are 1st, we should no longer give

ourselves up to degrading terror (as we do at this moment) at the idea of losing an old mart for our manufactures; nor to infantine and irrational joy at the prospect of acquiring a new one. 2d, we should look forward without dismay to that total loss of foreign commerce, which, from various causes, is likely to happen. 3d, a cessation of the jealousy and envy, with which we are now regarded by the rest of the European powers; and a consequent diminution of future wars.——He states some other advantages; but, I was sorry not to meet with the mention of one, far greater, in my opinion, than all those which he has mentioned; namely, that we should no longer have any temptation to clamour for peace, upon any terms, for the sake of a revival of trade; that we should no longer be tempted to barter our honour for the gains of commerce; that we should no longer be under the sway of Lloyds' and the 'Change; that we should never again be ruled by a talkative counting-house clerk, the eulogist and the companion of jews.——Upon the subject of export commerce, I should stop here, did I not hope, and believe, that, by inserting my own former remarks upon the same subject, an additional chance will be obtained of producing a general conviction of the truths so ably maintained by MR. SPENCE, and which truths are, at this time in particular, of the greatest importance.——I shall, at the head of each extract, mention the date, under which it was published.

Dec. 6th, 1806. *Vol. X. p.* 867.

Of the consequences, which the subjugation of the continent by our enemy must naturally produce with respect to England, we have already, in the transactions at Hamburgh, seen a trifling specimen. Often, as the public can bear testimony, have I reminded the Baalams of the city, that the soldier was abroad, and that, rail and curse and cry as much as they pleased, he would, I was afraid, before he sheathed the sword, have his share of the good things of this world. They may now, probably, begin to believe me; and, when they consider, that at the very moment when their goods were seized at Hamburgh, they were exulting in their triumph at Brentford, they will certainly excuse the people, over whom they triumphed, for being too much absorbed with their own chagrin to have time to break their hearts with sorrow for that seizure. For my own part, events of this sort do, I will freely confess, give me very little uneasiness; because I am persuaded, that, with respect to the general and permanent interests of the kingdom, the seizure of mercantile property, already deposited in foreign states, can be productive of very little injury. I know well enough, that the merchants and the daily press will set up a most lamentable outcry upon this score; and they will accuse me of rejoicing, or, at least, of not weeping, at the success of the enemy; but, this will not deter me from expressing my opinion upon the subject; and, they cannot, in this instance, at any rate, accuse me of magnifying the power and success of that enemy. I will go a little further in this way, and say, that, *were the French to succeed in seizing all the English goods and property in every port and place in Europe, and if they were to prevent such goods from being sent thither in future, I do not believe it would, even in the smallest degree, tend to disable England either for the defending of herself or for the annoying of her foes.* That it would shut up a great number of commercial houses, I allow; that it would lower a great number of merchants and bankers; that it would *diminish the means by which the Shaws and the Mellishes have been put into parliament;* that it would do much in this way I am ready to allow; but, I am by no means prepared to allow, that it would be injurious either *to the liberties and happiness of the people, or to the permanent security and dignity of the throne.*—— There is a strange perversity, which, upon matters of this sort, appears to have taken possession of men's minds. "*How are we to live*, say they, if we cannot *get rid* of our manufactures?" They regard the nation in the light of an individual shopkeeper; and then they run on reasoning upon all the consequences of *a total loss of customers.* But, they forget, that the individual shopkeeper must sell his goods in order to obtain food and raiment and money to pay for his goods, whereas the nation has nobody to pay for its goods, and can never receive an addition either to its food or its raiment for the sale of its goods. The fact is, that exports of every sort, generally speaking, only tend *to enrich a few persons* and to cause the labouring part of the people to live harder than they otherwise would do. We have seen, that many other nations have arisen to the highest pitch of greatness without the exporting of a single article of merchandize; and we have, I think, a pretty satisfactory example, at this time, in the situation of France. Yet, our eyes are not opened. We are not, indeed, so stone blind as we were some few years ago, when, in answer to those who dwelt upon the dangers to be appre-

hended from the increasing power of France, the conceited and shallow-headed Pitt talked of nothing but the inexhaustible resources of our commerce, and of that poverty and bankruptcy, which must, he said, end in the total destruction of the power of the enemy. You well remember, Sir, that, at the peace of Amiens, your apprehensions of the still further increasing power of France were, by that enlightened statesman, Lord Hawkesbury, answered by a constantly repeated appeal to our *Capital, Credit, and Commerce*, to which he as invariably and triumphantly pointed, as the no less profound Mr. Mellish lately did to the state of the poll. But, if one were now to go and ask that famous possessor of a four-thousand-a-year sinecure what Capital, Credit, and Commerce have been able to do in arresting the progress of French power, and how they are likely to operate in the preserving of England from the lot of Prussia, he would, methinks, be puzzled for a reply.

December 20th, 1806, *Vol. X. p.* 974.

At no time, under no circumstances that the imagination can form to itself, would it be prudent or safe for us to concede any point connected with the maintenance of our power at sea; but, at the present time, and under circumstances that I have endeavoured to describe in the foregoing article, concession would be the beginning of annihilation to the only force, on which we have now to rely for keeping the enemy from our doors. Give up the right of search, and to give up a part expressly will be giving up the whole by implication, or, ar least by interpretation; give up that, and, in the space of two years, France will beat us in that which has hitherto been called the English Channel.——Refuse, and what is the consequence? The execution of a *non-importation act*, passed in America, suspended now, perhaps, but ready to be put in rigid execution the moment the final refusal is made known. And what will be the effect of this terrible act, which is to awe England into compliance? Into a surrender of rights, undisputed by the public law of Europe, and exercised by all nations, except those whose *interest* it has been not to exercise them, or who had not the *power* to exercise them? What will be the effect of this act, supposing the American government to have passed it with any other view than that of exciting the fears of timid commercial avarice? The effect would be, if it were *possible* to execute the act, to prevent large quantities of goods from being carried to America from this kingdom, which, as the phrase usually is, would *greatly injure our commerce and manufactures*; for, as to our *navigation*, it would not injure that at all, it being very material to observe, that not one English ship would thereby be thrown out of employment, because not one English ship nor one English sailor (except, perhaps, some deserters from our colliers or our fleet) is ever employed in the transport of English goods to the American States. But, what is the meaning of this phrase, "injury to our commerce and "manufactures?" It is certainly figurative. It would say, that by injuring our merchants and manufacturers, the measure would injure our country. But, those merchants and manufacturers must excuse me if I regard not this as a legitimate conclusion; for, numerous are the cases, real as well as supposed, in which a measure, which is injurious to particular classes of men, may be, and are, not only not injurious, but beneficial to the community in general; and, though this may not be a measure of that description, I am fully persuaded, that, if it *could* be strictly executed, the injury to the general interests of the nation, the injury to her power, to the means of defending herself, to the means of her maintaining her consequence amongst nations, would, if any at all, be very small indeed.——I made, in my second letter to Mr. Windham, (see p. 867) when touching upon the consequences of the seizure at Hamburgh, some observations respecting the effect, in a national point of view, of excluding our manufactures from foreign countries, to which observations I beg leave to refer the reader, as applicable to this case; and, let me add here, that no abusive paragraph from a Treasury scribe, such as John Bowles or Redhead Yorke, will, either by me or my readers, be taken as conclusive proof that those observations were erroneous.——But, would the injury, supposing it to be an injury, be all on one side? Would the Americans themselves experience no injury from this same measure? To hear some men talk upon this subject one would imagine, that to *get rid* of goods, the produce of sheep's backs and of our mines and of the work of our hands was a positive good that nothing could counterbalance. If this be the case, why not throw them into the sea, instead of putting them on board of American ships, for the privilege of doing which we are to pay so dear? To hear some men talk upon this subject, one would really imagine, that it

was purely to oblige us, out of mere compassion and Christian charity to us, that the Americans wore our cloth, and cut their meat with our knives. It may be the opinion of some, that they have proved themselves to be affectionate children; but, God preserve, I say, the parent from being reduced to a reliance upon their affection or compassion! God preserve the country I love from a dependance upon American generosity, charity, or even American justice! The fact is, that the Americans purchase our goods because they want them, and cannot do without them. Their whole dress, from the chin to the ancle, goes from England, Ireland, or Scotland. From the swaddling cloths of the baby to the shroud of the grandsire, all is supplied by us; and it is in my power, at any time, to show that, in return for English materials and English labour, England receives out, comparatively, a small portion of food or of raiment, the far greater part being a mere vehicle for enriching the few who profit from the trade Can the Americans do without our goods? This is to ask; can they go naked; for in the whole world, this kingdom excepted, there exist not the means of covering their backs; of keeping them from the inclemency of the weather, either by day or by night. To say nothing, therefore, of the numerous useful and necessary articles of hardware, and goods, indeed, of all descriptions, how are they to supply the place of English goods? "Other countries." What other country is there upon earth? Even before the French revolution commenced its havock upon the manufactories of the continent, all the other countries in the world did not supply them with as much of the articles of indispensable necessity as Gloucestershire did; and, it will, I hope, not be forgotten by Lords Holland and Auckland, that Napoleon, in his Northern conquests, must have broken up the small source of supply there afforded to America. But, "shall we not drive the Americans to manufacture for themselves?" This is a horrid possibility to be sure; but, we must first drive two other things amongst them, namely, *sheep*, and *downs* for the sheep to feed upon, and (I had like to have forgotten a third) a *sun* under which sheep can live and thrive. These are physical obstacles, which are not to be overcome, believe me, by a petulant act of Congress, though preceded by six weeks or two months of dull debate, in which, perhaps, fifty lawyers were exercising their lungs for the bar, to the great annoyance of a hundred honest farmers, who had, at last, not a more correct notion of the consequences of the act, than Mr. Spankie (the Editor of the Morning Chronicle) now seems to have. It may seem incredible to some persons that there should be *no sheep* in America; and, there are many superficial observers, who will be inclined to dispute my opinions upon the fact of their having frequently eaten lamb and mutton there. But, it will be quite sufficient, in answer to all such, to state, that for *every man* in the United States, *five pounds* sterling's worth of woollens is annually imported from England. What, then, do they do with their own wool? The truth is, that they grow scarcely enough to answer the demand for stuffing saddles and such like uses; and they never can; both soil and climate being hostile to the breeding and the keeping of sheep. Supposing, therefore, that the people, almost all of them bred to agricultural pursuits, could, before their present stock of cloths is worn to rags, be collected together from their thinly scattered plantations, and moulded into manufacturers; supposing persons there ready to teach them the art of manufacturing; and supposing that unsupposeable event, the transmutation of some of their lands into workshops, still the materials, whereon to work are wanting; and, if ever they are obtained, from England, dear England, however they may hate her, and affect to despise her, those materials must come.

August 22d, 1807. Vol. XII. p. 262.

Leaving this worst of all aristocracies to enjoy its day, and waiting patiently for the arrival of our day, let us examine a little, Gentlemen, into the grounds of the alarm, expressed by the Independent Whig and the Chamber of Commerce, at the probability of seeing the American ports *shut against our goods.*——Gentlemen, part of the wool (one article is enough, for the same reasoning applies to all), which grows upon the backs of sheep, which feed upon the grass, which grows upon the land of England, is made into cloth of various denominations, which cloth is made by English labour, and is afterwards sent to clothe the Americans. Now, does it appear to you, that it would do us any great injury, if the Americans were to refuse to wear this cloth; if they were to refuse to receive the benefit of so much of the produce of the soil and of the labour of our country? *They* must go naked and absolutely perish without this cloth; but, that I lay aside, for the present, as of no account. What injury would it *do us*, if they were to be able to prevent our woollens from entering their

ports? Why, my assailant of the Independent Whig will say, perhaps, that such prevention would be the ruin of thousands; that it would break up our cloth manufactories, and produce starvation amongst the cloth makers. This sweeping way of describing is always resorted to in such cases; but, Gentlemen, though we actually clothe the Americans, they do not take off one *tenth* part of our cloth. And, supposing it possible for them effectually to put a stop to this outlet, how would it injure us? The consequence would be, that cloth would be cheaper in England; the consequence of that would be, that wool would be cheaper; the consequence of that would be, that sheep would be less valuable; the consequence of that would be, that less of them would be raised. But, the feed which now goes to the keeping of part of our sheep, would go to the keeping of something else, and the labour now bestowed upon part of our woollen cloths, would be bestowed upon something else; in all probability upon the land, which *always* calls for labour, and which never fails to yield a grateful return.—— There is, Gentlemen, as it were by preconcert, by regular system, a loud cry, upon all occasions, set up about our *loss of commerce*. Wars have been made, over and over again, for the sake of commerce; and, when the rights and honour of the nation are to be sacrificed by a peace, the regaining or preserving of commerce is invariably the plea. To hear these merchants and their ignorant partizans talk, one would almost suppose, that, if sincere in their expressions of alarm, they must look upon commerce as the sole source of our food and raiment, and even of the elements which are necessary to man's existence. Commerce, they tell us, is "essential to the *vital* interests" of the country. Who would not suppose, that commerce brought us our bread and our water. Gentlemen, to support commerce, the wars in Egypt were undertaken; the wars in India are carried on without ceasing, the war in South America, and in Africa are now undertaken. Oh! What English blood and English labour and English happiness and English honour has not this commerce cost! But, "without commerce how are "we to defray the expences of govern-"ment, and the interest of the national "debt?" This is a question that every frightened female puts to one; and, really, notwithstanding it is well known that England has been upon the decline of power ever since she became *decidedly* commercial, and that France has grown in power in the same proportion as her commerce has declined, till, at last, having lost *all* her commerce, she is become absolute mistress of the whole of the continent of Europe; notwithstanding this, the commercial tribe, with Pitt at their head, have so long and so impudently assumed, that it is commerce that "supports the na-"tion," that it is not to be wondered at, that a man who is foolish enough to have his all in the funds, should be alarmed lest he should lose his dividends with the loss of commerce. The merchants would fain persuade us (perhaps they may really think so) that their goods and their ships pay the greater part of the taxes. "Look, here!" say they, pointing to their imports and exports. That is very fine, for a few hundreds of them; but what is it to the whole of the nation? "But," say they, "look "at the Custom House duties." Yes, and *who pay* those duties? It is *we*, Gentlemen, who pay those duties. The payment comes out of *our labour*, and from no other source whatever. The people of America have been cajoled by this sort of doctrine. "We pay *no taxes*," says one of their boasting citizens,, "*except* such as are imposed "upon *foreign* commodities." That is to say, except such as are imposed upon *Rum*, which is to them what beer is to us; *Sugar* and *Coffee*, of which, in part, the breakfast of every human creature in the country is composed; *Woollens and Linens and Cottons*, without which the people must go naked by day and be frost-bitten by night. But, what is the difference, Gentlemen, whether they pay a tax upon their coats, or whether they pay it upon their candles!—— But, Gentlemen, bearing in mind, however, that we pay the custom-house duties, let us see what proportion those duties bear to the whole of the taxes raised upon us. The whole of the taxes, collected last year, amount to about 50 millions; the custom-house duties, exclusive of coals, and goods carried from one part of the kingdom to another, to about 5 millions! *Supposing, therefore, that, if we did not pay these 5 millions in this way, we should not possess them, to pay in any other way, if called upon;* supposing this, is there here any falling off to be alarmed at? Why, Gentlemen, the *Barley* alone of England, pays, in malt and in beer, more clear money into the Exchequer than all the shipping and all the foreign commerce put together; and, as to the revenue arising from the trade with America, it is less than what arises from the porter which you drink in the City of Westminster alone. The fact is, Gentlemen, that the means of supporting fleets and

armies, the means of meeting all the squanderings that we witness, the means of paying the dividends at the bank, *come out of the land of the country and the labour of its people.* These are the sources, from which all those means proceed; and all that the merchants, and ministers like merchants, tell us about the resources of commerce, means merely this, that while we are sweating at every pore to pay the taxes, we ought to believe, that the taxes are paid by others. I will tell you, Gentlemen, who would be injured by the shutting of the American ports against our goods. A few great merchants and manufacturers; and, observe it well, some hundreds of men, and some of those very great men, who have their money in the American funds. These, and these alone, be you well assured, would suffer any serious inconveniences from the shutting of the American ports; and these men are amongst the very worst enemies that the people of England have to overcome. —Nothing is more convenient for the purpose of a squandering, jobbing, corrupting, bribing minister, than a persuasion amongst the people, that it is from the *commerce*, and not from *their labour*, that the taxes come; and, it has long been a fashionable way of thinking, that, it is no matter how great the expenses are, so that the commerce does but keep pace with them in increase. Nothing can better suit such a minister and his minions than the propagation of opinions like these. But, Gentlemen, you have seen the commerce tripled since the fatal day, when Pitt became minister; and have you found, that *your* taxes have *not been increased?* The commerce has been tripled, and so have the *parish paupers.* Away, then, I beseech you, with this destructive delusion! See the thing in its true light. Look upon *all* the taxes as arising out of *the land and the labour*, and distrust either the head or the heart of the man who would cajole you with a notion of their arising from any other source.

Here, in this last extract, there is, as a "learned" man would say, *multum in parvo.* This little extract does, indeed, contain every important idea contained in Mr. Spence's pamphlet, as far as relates to the national inutility of export commerce; and, hasty as the writing of it evidently was, I do really believe, that it is even better calculated to produce the desired effect, than the very elaborate work, from which I have taken so many extracts.——"But," some one will say, "you are only claiming a pre-"eminence *in folly.*" May be so; but let it be *proved.* I am aware of the power of deep-rooted prejudice. I am aware of the influence of commerce. I am aware that it will be very difficult to induce the Spinning-Jenny Baronets and Lords to give up the importance of commerce. I am aware, that all those, who either from knavery or folly, still remain attached to the memory of Pitt, will, if they have sense enough to perceive that if our notions relative to commerce were adopted by the nation in general, his speeches would become a subject of endless ridicule; I am aware, that such men will not be convinced, or, at least, that they never will confess their conviction. But, in spite of prejudice and of vanity and of faction, if events proceed as, thank God, they are now proceeding, this so long deluded people will think rightly upon the subject of commerce, and when they do, away go, in a very short space of time, all the locusts that now eat up our substance; that now degrade the country; that now barter its happiness and its honour for their own villainous advantage.——England has long groaned under a *commercial system*, which is the most oppressive of all possible systems; and it is, too, a quiet, silent, smothering oppression, that it produces, which is more hateful than all others.——Napoleon is deceived in supposing, that the measures, which he has adopted against our commerce will ruin *us*; but, he is right, if he means to break up the commercial system; and he thinks, perhaps, that, rather than suffer that system to be broken up, our government will yield to any terms that he may dictate, in which opinion I will not say that he is wrong —— There are three objections to these our doctrines relative to commerce; 1st, That, by putting an end to all foreign commerce, thousands of manufacturers would be thrown out of employment; 2nd, that we should not be able to obtain naval stores in sufficient abundance; 3rd, that we should lose the nursery for seamen, with whom to man our ships of war.——These objections are worthy of attention, and shall be duly attended to in my next sheet.

Micheldever, 19*th Nov.* 1807.

EDINBURGH REVIEWERS.

(Being Mr. Worthington's second Letter.)

SIR;——Although the *argumentum ad hominem* is not conclusive in general reasoning, yet it may be applied to convict of wilful sophism, the supporter of a political argument, when he is found obstinately stickling for a corrupt abuse, which by a prior proposition of his own argument, it would cost him nothing to relinquish. For exam-

ple: if, agreeable to the position of the Edinburgh Reviewers, (p. 408) a House of Commons should consist (and our's actually, as they assert, so consisting) of those persons, who, from "rank, wealth, office, &c." (brains and honesty being out of the question) do "individually and necessarily" (according to them) "direct the conduct, and "influence the opinions of a very large ma-"jority of the people;" how comes it to pass, that "corrupt influence, aristocratic "menace, and rotten boroughs," should be so requisite, as aids, in duly selecting these *natural representatives* of the PEOPLE, when the people, according to the premises, would, without any corruption, or undue influence at all, have naturally made such selection of *their own accord?* Now, this being the case, as no doubt it would be, and our present worthy representatives, the very identical persons, whom, under the freest circumstances of selection, the people would necessarily choose, why will not the Edinburgh Reviewers give up these rotten boroughs, why not give up the sources of this *corrupt* influence, concerning which, the stupid people make such (however unreasonable) complaints? (for, who can strike reason into the multitude!) Why not give up these things, I repeat, which their own proposition asserts would in fact be no sacrifice at all? Why not, I reiterate, give them up to the prejudices, however childish, of the people? If a child cried for a bank note, one might think twice before one gave it to him; but, if he bawled for a bit of brown paper, surely one would give it him to make him quiet! And, believe me, Mr. Cobbett, if your inflammatory writings are subjects of such terror, a more effectual *quietus* to their operation would be found in such a measure, than will ever be extracted from the hypotheses, or from all the lucubrations put together of the Edinburgh Reviewers.—It is comical enough to trace the sophistries of these Reviewers through their very denominations.—Thus, in justifying the composition of the House of Commons, such as it exists; which they admit IS not, and argue, OUGHT not to be a representation of the people, they carefully avoid the *quiz* of calling it such; they speak of "the parlia-"ment," of a "*representative legislature*, "*lower house*," &c. &c. but the mention of the *representatives of the people*, (which is their true constitutional denomination) never once occurs in their treatise, expressly written upon the *British Constitution!!!*——To proceed with our subject (pages 408 and 409), I agree, then, with the Edinburgh Reviewers, that liberty will be best preserved "by keeping alive the spirit and intelli-"gence of the people;" but, I deny the next term of their argument; viz. that the making speeches, with whatever freedom in a House of Commons composed, *as they describe* our's to be, and the publishing them, however diffusively, will be adequate, as the Reviewers think, to this effect, or even be the best mode of endeavouring to attain it. On the contrary, I think nothing more likely to extinguish all "spirit and in-"telligence," nay, all interest whatsoever in political concerns in the minds of a people, than an exhibition of factious debate, wherein the agitation of a public question is known to arise from a selfish interest; wherein reason stands on one side, and a majority on the other; and where a decision is uniformly given, not in respect of the argument, but of the proposer! I do not at all say, God forbid! that this is the case with our House of Commons; I am merely pursuing and arguing on the assumption of the Edinburgh Reviewers; who, in conceding "the contempt of the people for public "characters, &c." must also necessarily concede some such cause for it as the foregoing. Merely *supposing* then, that the people should witness such an exhibition for an uninterrupted series of years, equivalent to the duration of human life; that they should know and feel, that by no *legal* effort of their own, they could acquire their just predominance in the assembly of their *nominal* (on the supposition) *representatives*, what business in such a state (for the mind is free, and one may imagine such a state, however fanciful!) what business, I ask, in such a state would the people have with "spirit and intelligence?" The latter of which could only instruct them to despise their condition, and the former animate them to rebellion!! But, I pause. I have not sought this occasion; and these remarks have been struck out of me by the provocation, blurted in our faces by these Reviewers, who would have acted more prudently in keeping it out of sight. It was certainly going a step beyond discretion, and a little too far to be yet endured in SOUTH BRITAIN to tell the people; that persons, who, as they admit, are not *bonâ fide* elected by them, are the fittest to be entrusted with their interests; and that popular "spirit "and intelligence," are to be "best and "adequately kept alive by the *bickerings* of "such an assembly, much better than by "the proceedings of an assembly of their "real representatives!!" This is not declamation—I will not oppose sophistry with declamation, I will oppose it with fact; and *I argue*, not only, that "popular spirit and "intelligence would not be best kept alive" by such bickerings, and their diffusive publi-

cation; but, *I assert*, that they have not been kept alive in England even by those patriotic orations, which it would be irreverend in any one, who has heard, to compare with such bickerings; and, therefore, *à fortiori*, such bickerings never could keep them alive, although the necessity of a *theory* for defending them, might be well calculated for *keeping the Edinburgh Reviewers alive!*—— An undeniable evidence of the fact of this spirit and intelligence in the public, not having been kept alive by these orations, is afforded in the very *unfortunate* attempt itself before us, of the Edinburgh Reviewers, to prove that they would be kept alive! For, I appeal to a great authority—I appeal to a name, which will survive the forms, as it has *already* survived the *theory* of our constitution, whether the presumptuous proposition of such doctrines on the part of the factious literary supporters of a set of eminent public men, themselves the candidates for public confidence, be not a satisfactory proof, that the "intelligence and spirit" of the people of England exist no longer!! In the solemn—affecting "dedication" of his labours "to the English nation," Junius, says, "when kings and ministers are for-"gotten, when the force and duration of "personal satire is no longer understood, "and when measures are only felt in their "remotest consequences, this book will, I "believe, be found to contain *principles* "*worthy to be transmitted to posterity*." A little further. "Be assured that the laws "which protect us in our civil rights, *grow* "*out of the constitution, and they must* "*fall or flourish with it*." Again, "I "cannot doubt that you will unanimous-"ly assert the freedom of election, and "*vindicate your exclusive right* to choose "your representatives!" More might be taken, but this is enough. Let the reader compare *these pictures* of the constitution; *this* drawn by Junius;—*that* by the Edinburgh Reviewers; and if he has himself a spark of "spirit and intelligence" left, he will to the one, contemptuously exclaim, "this *is* my father;" to the other, exultingly, "this *was* my father!" But, he will scarcely have exulted in the comparison, before his pride will be checked by the reflection, that *the spirit* of this father is fled!! For to a nation possessed of "intelligence "and spirit," such a *critical theory*, in violation of all the wisdom and glorious struggles of their ancestors, could not, by any conceivable degree of wrongheadedness have been promulgated.——But, to the Review. We come now (p. 410) to a very pleasant passage, "We cannot help thinking that our "parliament would be as useful and valuable as ever they were, although they were "mostly composed of persons chosen *by* "*lot, or by rotation* from the individuals of "a certain fortune and education in each of "the counties." This is good: but is, I think, rather inferior to the mode of appointing to offices in Lagado, mentioned in Swift's Voyage to Laputa; and, as the Travels of Mr. Gulliver, "are not in every body's "hands," I will transcribe the passage for the gratification of the curious. "To keep "senators in the *interest of the crown*," (for the same laudable object appears to be common to both) "it was proposed that the "members should *raffle* for employments, "every man first taking an oath, and giving "security that he would vote for the court, "whether he won, or no; after which the "losers had in their turn the liberty of "*raffling* upon the next vacancy." The *raffling* plan has certainly the most merit. 1st. On account of its originality. 2d. On account of its securing, by *a previous precaution*, the candidates in the interest of the crown; and at no expense to the country. This contrivance, antecedent, or *subsequent*, seems to be thought indispensable to any plan, whether by *raffle*, "*lot, rotation*," or otherwise: and is the grand secret and device for giving the members of our legislature, that so desirable (p. 112 Edinburgh Review) "greater *sympathy* and *mutual* "*contact* in their proceedings," for avoiding "those curative and vindictive checks," for "modifying the measures of government "in their concoction" (same page), "for "the effect of placing *in that House a mul-*"*titude of members devoted to the support* "*of the public functionaries for the time*, "and *of the views and interests of most of* "*the great families in the kingdom!*" (p. 413), for making the several elements of our legislature coquet with and *smile* at each other, rather than "overawe and frown at "each other from their separate orbits;" for the advantage of "*prodigiously soften-*"*ing* the collision and shock of the three "rival principles;" for "converting those "sudden and successive checks into one *re-*"*gulating* and graduated *pressure*;" thus making "their operation infinitely more *smooth* "*and manageable*;" also, for preventing those comical "*jirks* and bounds" (p. 414) of the political barouche. Nothing, it is obvious, can be better contrived for accomplishing all these useful purposes, than the *precaution of giving the security* in question, which I am, therefore, greatly surprised the Edinburgh Reviewers should have omitted; seeing the discovery to have been so very simple, and shewing as they have done, with *great strength of reason*, that the royal

throne could not be supported without corruption; probably, because that positive, confident, restive temper, which virtue infuses into a man, is a perpetual clog to public business. 3dly. I approve more the *raffling* plan, because there is something so fair in its allowing the losers to *raffle again* on a vacancy, which, as *their friends* threw unluckily at the last raffle, would appear to be the very object which the Reviewers are driving at; and, therefore, one is the more surprised at their omitting it. One objection indeed, and but one, I see to the *raffle*, which is, that should the country ever imbibe a "contempt for public characters," and be cursed by a bad government, it might render the people superstitious, who, in such a predicament, would naturally conclude, that the devil was in the dice! In defiance, however, of this last objection, should a *raffle* be resorted to, I positively stipulate on the part of the people for the performance of one condition, before the Whigs be again allowed to touch the dice; which is, that they do give solid security for their publicly abjuring and renouncing in their places, the corrupt, wicked, and damnable doctrine of the Edinburgh Reviewers; that they do banish the said Reviewers to Scotland, there to cultivate metaphysics, and do never again on any pretence employ them, as expounders of the English constitution! But, my critique is not yet concluded, whilst it is time to give place to other, though there cannot be more important, discussions. In treating this subject with a partial levity, I have bowed to the authority of the Roman Satirist:

"——————— ridiculum acri
"Fortiùs et melius magnâs plerumque secat res."

whilst my natural feelings would have urged me to assume the language of sorrow, or indignation. Can there be a more mortifying thing, than to see the noble profession of letters *converted* into a trade of political prostitution, to see wit and criticism *perverted* to the crooked ends of faction, and a contempt for the profound policy and generous courage of our ancestors, inculcated by the arbiters of taste and refinement. ——I am, Sir, &c.—*J. C. Worthington.*—— *Soutnampton, Nov.* 11, 1807.

KILMAINHAM PENSIONERS.

SIR;——A correspondent, who signs himself "A British Veteran," has, in your Register of 17th Oct., consumed four columns in what he terms "a plain, simple "statement of facts;" but which statement, as far as it regards the principal object of his communication, for he does not, I admit, strictl, confine himself to it, is void of truth. Kilmainham Pensioners *were not forgotten* in the act which was passed in the late administration, "for making better "provision for soldiers." I refer the Veteran to 46th Geo. 3. c. 69. and 47th Geo. 3. session 2. c. 5. unless he feel greater pleasure, which now and then, Mr. Cobbett, some people do feel, or find it convenient to feel, in continuing in error, than satisfying himself that he has had no reason on the present occasion to complain.—Your regard for truth, will, I am sure, induce you to give this early insertion in your Register. ——A YOUNG SOLDIER.—*28th Oct.* 1807. *British Coffee House.*

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

BLOCKADE.——*Order of Council. From the Supplement to the London Gazette; dated Monday, November* 16, 1807.—*At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the* 11*th of November,* 1807; *Present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.*

Whereas certain orders, establishing an unprecedented system of warfare against this kingdom, and aimed especially at the destruction of its commerce and resources, were, some time since, issued by the govenment of France, by which "the British islands were declared to be in a state of blockade," thereby subjecting to capture and condemnation all vessels, with their cargoes, which should continue to trade with His Majesty's dominions.:—And whereas, by the same order, "all trading in English merchandize is prohibited, and every article of merchandize belonging to England, or coming from her colonies, or of her manufacture, is declared lawful prize:"—And whereas the nations in alliance with France, and under her controul, were required to give, and have given, and do give effect to such orders:—And whereas His Majesty's order of the 7th of January last, has not answered the desired purpose, either of compelling the enemy to recal those orders, or of inducing neutral nations to interpose with effect, to obtain their revocation; bnt, on the contrary, the same have been recently enforced with increased rigour:—And whereas His Majesty, under these circumstances, finds himself compelled to take further measures for asserting and vindicating his just rights, and for supporting that maritime power which the exertions and valour of his people have, under the blessing of Providence, enabled him to establish and maintain; and the maintenance of which is not more essential to the safety and prosperity of His Majesty's dominions, than it is to the protection of such States as still retain their independence, and to the general

intercourse and happiness of mankind:—His Majesty is therefore pleased, by and with the advice of His Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that all the ports and places of France and her Allies, or of any other country at war with His Majesty, and all other ports or places in Europe, from which, although not at war with His Majesty, the British flag is excluded, and all ports or places in the colonies belonging to His Majesty's enemies, shall from henceforth, be subject to the same restrictions in point of trade and navigation, with the exceptions hereinafter-mentioned, as if the same were actually blockaded by His Majesty's naval forces, in the most strict and rigorous manner: And it is hereby further ordered and declared, that all trade in articles which are of the produce or manufacture of the said countries or colonies, shall be deemed and considered to be unlawful; and that every vessel trading from or to the said countries or colonies, together with all goods and merchandize on board, and all articles of the produce or manufacture of the said countries or colonies, shall be captured, and condemned as prize to the captors.—But although His Majesty would be fully justified, by the circumstances and considerations above recited, in establishing such system of restrictions with respect to all the countries and colonies of his enemies, without exception or qualification; yet His Majesty, being nevertheless desirous not to subject neutrals to any greater inconvenience than is absolutely inseparable from the carrying into effect His Majesty's just determination to counteract the designs of his enemies, and to retort upon his enemies themselves the consequences of their own violence and injustice; and being yet willing to hope that it may be possible (consistently with that object) still to allow to neutrals the opportunity of furnishing themselves with colonial produce for their own consumption and supply; and even to leave open, for the present, such trade with His Majesty's enemies as shall be carried on directly with the ports of His Majesty's dominions, or of his allies, in the manner hereinafter mentioned:—His Majesty is therefore pleased further to order, and it is hereby ordered, that nothing herein contained shall extend to subject to capture or condemnation any vessel, or the cargo of any vessel, belonging to any country not declared by this order to be subjected to the restrictions incident to a state of blockade, which shall have cleared out with such cargo from some port or place of the country to which she belongs, either in Europe or America, or from some free port in His Majesty's colonies, under circumstances in which such trade from such free ports is permitted, direct to some port or place in the colonies of His Majesty's enemies, or from those colonies direct to the country to which such vessel belongs, or to some free port in His Majesty's colonies, in such cases, and with such articles, as it may be lawful to import into such free port;—nor to any vessel, or the cargo of any vessel, belonging to any country not at war with His Majesty, which shall have cleared out under such regulations as His Majesty may think fit to prescribe, and shall be proceeding direct from some port or place in this Kingdom, or from Gibraltar or Malta, or from any port belonging to His Majesty's allies, to the port specified in her clearance;—nor to any vessel, or the cargo of any vessel, belonging to any country not at war with His Majesty, which shall be coming from any port or place in Europe which is declared by this order to be subject to the restrictions incident to a state of blockade, destined to some port or place in Europe belonging to His Majesty, and which shall be on her voyage direct thereto; but these exceptions are not to be understood as exempting from capture or confiscation any vessel or goods which shall be liable thereto in respect of having entered or departed from any port or place actually blockaded by His Majesty's squadrons or ships of war, or for being enemies' property, or for any other cause than the contravention of this present order.—And the commanders of His Majesty's ships of war and privateers, and other vessels acting under His Majesty's commission, shall be, and are hereby, instructed to warn every vessel which shall have commenced her voyage prior to any notice of this order, and shall be destined to any port of France, or of her allies, or of any other country at war with His Majesty, or to any port or place from which the British flag as aforesaid is excluded, or to any colony belonging to His Majesty's enemies, and which shall not have cleared out as is hereinbefore allowed, to discontinue her voyage, and to proceed to some port or place in this kingdom, or to Gibraltar or Malta; and any vessel which, after having been so warned, or after a reasonable time shall have been afforded for the arrival of information of this His Majesty's order at any port or place from which she sailed, or which, after having notice of this order, shall be found in the prosecution of any voyage contrary to the restrictions contained in this order, shall be captured, and, together with her cargo, condemned as lawful prize to the captors.

To be continued.

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